2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

623 which was to come before the meeting would be brought up. This might be a suggestion for communal ditch digging, a request by a deer hunter for volunteers for a deer hunt, etc. The man who wished this proposal made might speak of it himself, or he might communicate it to the Keeper who would either make a speech or have it made by his speaker.

Such a speech was followed by the ritual applause and, if there was tobacco enough, by ritual smoking. Generally each man in the circle of wise men commented upon it, taking turns from right to left. A man who agreed completely made another speech in the same vein so that before the process was complete, a project had been many times confirmed and re-stated. One who disagreed took time for thought and then made his strictures, after which the others commented in regular turn, always beginning at the right of the speaker. If sentiment was divided, the procedure was to discuss until opinion was unanimous. The myths often contain the statement, "They held a meeting but nothing was decided. So they agreed to meet again the next night," and so on for four nights.

According to two informants, there were specially selected wise men who were asked for their opinion after each speech had been made (15, 25). According to another, after every speech the men expressed themselves all around the circle: "It pleases me." "It does not please me." This vote was taken four times in case someone might reconsider (25).

The young men did not vote or smoke. Those who were fast runners might be called on to inform neighbor villages when there was a decision about war or ceremony. If volunteers were wanted for a war party or for communal labor, they might step forward. Otherwise they merely listened.

When the meeting was over, the Keeper directed: "We will smoke once more and then go to sleep." If it were early in the night, [513] the men went home. If it were late, they slept in the Big House. No informants had heard of this being a nightly procedure.

Lengthy and repetitive speeches were an essential part of Papago procedure. The first Spaniards noted the trait when they heard Papago converts preaching to their countrymen:

> ..."it seems the Lord must have given him words to enable h m to speak so long, for he harangued them for a space of two hours, a thing difficult even for a great preacher. Afterward another took up the thread.... In this manner day dawned upon them and the following night it was the same."[1]

[1] Bolton, 1919, 2, 211.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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In love, she again showed independence. For a shaman to have more than one wife was standard custom but Chona resented her co-wife. She felt "unnaturally" and against all precedent the same emotions that a White woman is expected to feel "naturally" in such a circumstance. The result was a minor rebellion, soon settled. Chona's life, on the whole, presents a fair picture of the crises which come to a Papago woman, heightened by a dynamic personality.

I

We lived at Mesquite Root and my father was chief there. That was a good place, high up among the hills, but flat, with a little wash where you could plant corn. Prickly pear grew there so thick that in summer, when you picked the fruit, it was only four steps from one bush to the next. And cholla cactus grew and there were ironwood trees. Good nuts they have! There were birds flying around, doves and woodpeckers, and a big rabbit sometimes in the early morning, and quails running across the flat land. Right above us was Quijotoa Mountain, the one where the cloud stands up high and white when we sing for rain.

We lived in a grass house and our relatives, all around us on the smooth flat land, had houses that were the same. Round our houses were, with no smoke hole and just a little door where you crawled in on hands and knees. That was good. The smoke could go out anywhere through the thatch and the air could come in. All our family slept on cactus fibre mats against the wall, pushed tight against it so centipedes and scorpions could not crawl in. There was a mat for each two children, but no, nothing over us. When we were cold, we put wood on the fire.

Early in the morning, in the month of Pleasant Cold, when we had all slept in the house to keep warm, we would wake in the dark to hear my father speaking.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake up and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them." He spoke in a low voice, so quiet in the dark. Always our fathers spoke to us like that, so low that you thought you were dreaming.

"Wake up and listen. You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men and they will fight the enemy. You should practise running. So, in time of war, you may save your lives."

For a long time my father talked to us like that, for he began when it was black dark. I went to sleep, and then he pinched my ear. "Wake up! Do not be idle!"

Then we got up. It was the time we call morning-stands-up, when it is

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

V

When I was nearly as tall as my mother, that thing happened to me which happens to all our women though I do not know if it does to the Whites; I never saw any signs. It is called menses. 159x 881

Girls are very dangerous at that time. If they touch a man's bow, or even look at it, that bow will not shoot any more. If they drink out of a man's bowl, it will make him sick. If they touch the man himself, he might fall down dead. My mother had told us this long ago and we knew what had happened in our village.

There was a girl once who became dangerous and she did not tell. They were having a good time that day. All the village was planting in her father's field, and he had given them a meal of succotash. They were eating out in the field, her mother was cooking over a campfire. My mother was there and she said this girl was standing with a bowl in the crook of her arm, laughing and eating. It began to rain. The girl and her sisters ran home to take in the bedding, because we sleep out of doors in the summer and it was on the ground. [476] [513]

There was a crash of thunder. All the eating people stood still and then, from the house of that girl they heard a long sigh. They ran there. All the family were lying stunned on the floor, one sister was blind, and that girl was dead. The men dragged the people out into the rain and the house began to burn. "See," said those people, "what has happened to us." Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near.

Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire, and it seemed that it reached out, and took her, and burned her up. And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. For it is not always you who are hurt if you commit this sacrilege; it may be any one in your family.

That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the medicine man to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see who did it. They do not punish that woman. It is enough to know that she has killed her friends. [688]

Our mothers watch us, and so mine knew when it came to me. We always had the Little House ready, over behind our own house. It was made of some branches stuck in the ground and tied together at the top, with greasewood thrown over them to make it shady. There was no rain then, for it was winter, but it was cold in that little house. The door was just big enough to crawl through, like our house door, and there was room for you to lie down inside, but not to stand up. My mother made me a new bowl and drinking cup out of clay, and put them in that house. When my [343]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

342 556 Thus the type of house is something of an index to the occupant's economic status. In the more prosperous eastern districts, adobe construction has been so widely accepted that a wattle house is a fairly sure sign that the occupants have a below-average income. In the western districts, however, a wattle house is far more often a sign of resistance to white culture. For example, at the time of this study all the houses in two of the most conservative villages in Hickiwan District were wattle-and-daub, regardless of the individual owner's economic status.

The type of house roof is also an index to prosperity or acculturation or both. Despite the fact that a roof of thatch overlaid with dirt is cooler in summer and warmer in winter, any eastern Papago who can possibly afford it will roof his house with wood, tar paper, or tin. There is one advantage in the white man's roof—it does not leak as much as a dirt roof.

The visitor can also see evidence of economic status and of attitude toward whites in the house furnishings. The poorer families and those antagonistic to white culture have dirt floors and few tables, chairs, beds, stoves, glass window panes, and "store" dishes. In relatively prosperous and acculturated homes—considerably more numerous in the East than in the West—house furnishings may include a good stove, a kerosene refrigerator, a washing machine, and a phonograph or battery radio. In these homes, chairs, tables, beds, some type of stove, and "store" dishes are regarded as necessary for comfort; when families from such homes go to the cactus camp and do without these things, they feel that they are "camping out."

352 556

[778] In a Catholic home there is always a little altar, a small table or shelf draped with white. Here one sees *santos* or holy pictures, a candle in a red glass, and perhaps some paper flowers. An alarm clock, a pencil, and other odds and ends are not considered out of place here.

342 [414] All houses and storerooms, however flimsily built, have doors and some kind of lock. Storerooms are kept locked even during the day except when someone is working close by, and houses are locked when the family goes away for even part of a day. "No one from here would steal anything, but a stranger might."

356 515 House and yard are almost invariably neat and clean; even dirt floors are sprinkled and swept every morning. The Papago also values personal neatness and cleanliness. Neither is easy to achieve in this dusty, water-scarce country.

513 Sleeping arrangements vary greatly according to personal predilection. Most people, except the very old, now have beds, but everyone can, and frequently does, sleep on the floor or the ground without discomfort. As a matter of fact, some of the beds are without mattresses or springs; the owners merely

[Text continues on p. 44-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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513 push the wide wooden slats together and lay blankets on them. Beds stand in the yard in summer, with the bedding rolled up during the day to keep it clean; in winter they are moved indoors.

264 Eating arrangements are also characteristically elastic. In the eastern districts, where every house has a table and chairs, family meals are the general practice, but no one is concerned if some member arrives late or not at all. Fiestas are the only occasions when group eating seems important.

262 No longer does the desert furnish all the food. Only two wild plants are still important in the Papago diet: the cholla bud and the fruit of the saguaro cactus. These plants are good sources of sugar, vitamins, and minerals.[1] Various seeds and wild greens are still gathered in season, but decreasing use of wild products has followed the introduction of stores on the Reservation, and Papago food is now rather like lower-class Mexican or Yaqui food. The usual three family meals each day are much alike in basic pattern: coffee, tortillas or bread, and some bean or other legume, which "makes the meal." These foods are supplemented by other vegetables and sometimes by meat, cheese, and eggs. Green corn is used in many forms—fresh, or dried and roasted and then ground for boiling alone or with black-eyed beans. Wheat is used in whole-wheat tortillas or bread and as pinole. Squash is boiled or baked, either fresh or dried, and several varieties of peas are also eaten. Principal meats in the diet are beef and chicken, but their use varies with the economic status of the family, for not all have cattle or poultry, and meat in the stores is expensive. Rabbits and other wild game provide additional meat.

527 262 The fiesta is the occasion when delicacies are set forth. Fiesta foods include tamales and beef stew, with raisin rice pudding or canned fruit for dessert. Baker's bread and cake are greatly esteemed. Food for the fiesta is carefully planned and prepared, and an effort is made to serve the choicest dishes. In the home, however, it is considered pure ostentation to set too good a table.

146 262 Many Papago children show signs of malnutrition,[2] as the modern Papago diet has deficiencies, the most serious of which is in vitamin C. In those seasons when fresh vegetables and wild greens are not available, the Papago eat very few foods which are rich in this vitamin; oranges and tomatoes are not grown on the Reservation and are expensive to buy. Nor is vitamin A very plentiful in the diet. Milk is used almost exclusively in coffee, and the total amount consumed is limited. School children must learn to drink milk, as many adults believe that undiluted it is bad for the stomach. As noted in

1. For a comprehensive study of Papago diet see Emma Reh, "An Economic Study of the Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona" (MS).

2. See Part III of the study.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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usually commercial brands have to be resorted to. It is smoked in corn husks. The leaves of *viopóli*, a bush in the foot-hills, are also sometimes smoked.

In the afternoon the leading men began to wake from their slumber and, as there were many features of the feast I desired to have explained to me, I induced them to have a conference. Outside of the house of the Keeper of the Smoke there was some convenient shade and, stretched on a mat with the rest, I had a couple of hours of very interesting conversation. Many years amongst the Indians gave me some knowledge of the fundamental traits of their religious ideas, which evidently very much surprised those present. They had such fine faces, full of determination and sincerity! Ragged and poor though these people were, I could not help admiring the expression of their countenances, especially those of the principal men, flushed with enthusiasm attendant on the festival. They gave me clear and unequivocal answers. When I had finished all my questions one medicine-man said: "I suppose he is one of those white men who want us to give up all our ancient beliefs and customs." Assured on this point, they said they were glad to have me remain at the rancheria as long as I wished. They also informed me of a calendar record preserved by a man who lived in the Baboquivari Range. Of this I made a note as the object for an excursion.

"Might I see what was inside the long basket on the dancing places?" I asked. This they could not very well do. Few of the Indians themselves had seen it, they

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

285 The lady of the house had in active use two of those
488 peculiar burden baskets called *kíbo*, in which the women carry on their backs loads of wood, gourds, or pottery, as the case may be. It consists of an attractive looking net-work of mescal fibre, which has been produced from the leaves after they have been first boiled. The net is attached to a hoop which is fastened between four long poles of sahuaro ribs and is supported by a woven band of strips of zotol leaves that passes over the forehead. This contrivance is getting to be rare in the Papago country, with the introduction of mules and horses, and the woman who owns one is with difficulty induced to sell it. She spends considerable time in its manufacture, and in an old-fashioned family like the present it is of very great usefulness in every-day life. The black twine was from her children's hair, which she cut once a year until they were about twelve years old. I expressed an ardent desire to buy one that was standing outside of the house against the wall, and, after having thought the matter over for a couple of hours, she decided to sell the most used one for five dollars, though she hated to do so; for an additional fifty cents she would mend the net-work and put in a new plaited band for the back and the head. The offer was promptly accepted.

[492]

302

Pablo and I made a tour of the houses of the ran-
361 cheria, some of them being three-quarters of a mile away.
124 In two of them we found only old deaf women at home,
[887] the rest of the families being at the harvest of the savory cactus fruit. On our return, toward sunset, our Indian
513 friend and little Marianita were busily engaged in wash-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

ing a large sleeping mat, plaited from zotol leaves in the usual manner, which I had also bought. Another, a smaller daughter, sat near by, while on the roof the third child, a boy of eight summers, was romping in a short shirt, throwing stones and looking picturesque against the blue sky and the mountains of Baboquivari. One's photographic propensities are sorely tried under such tempting circumstances. As we approached, the boy descended. Pablo, at my bidding, engaged the family in conversation and I tried to avoid observation while taking snapshots, for, if seen, that would have put a speedy end to the friendship so happily begun.

This was an attractive family that carried one's thoughts back to the Indian of long ago. The mother seemed the incarnation of sterling qualities, well meaning, intelligent, and active. She had quite an eye to business, but she asked fair prices. She looked about fifty, the picture of health, and had borne thirteen children, nine of whom were alive; many of these were full-grown and the youngest was six years old. Her husband, who was as friendly as his wife, or even more so, had a peculiar name, Piukváotam, "He cannot be eaten" (because bitter to the taste). This probably expresses some characteristic of antipathy which I failed to discover, the Indians being extremely critical in their application of names.

It was the 10th of July; for several days the maximum temperature had remained at about 100° F. A moist wind, somewhat cooler, had been blowing too gently for real comfort, but that day about sunset the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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302 [142] [832] [824] [751] The men frequently have slight moustaches. At present the men all have their hair cut short, but a luxuriant growth was formerly considered a standard of beauty. It was occasionally washed with an infusion from the roots of a vine called *ádoñi*. Sometimes these natives would plaster the head with clay, to kill parasites and ensure a better growth of hair. The women still take great care of this ornament to their persons and are often seen brushing it with brushes made from the roots of sacaton grass. With the children, it is cut so that it may grow strong, and the cut hair is twisted into a cord which is used in tying together parts of the burden basket as well as in the tying of the saddle-bag. Formerly the custom was to leave the children's hair long on top of the head, back of the neck, and in front [149] of each ear. I saw a left-handed man and a left-handed woman in the tribe. If it be permissible to draw any [513] general conclusions from the sound sleep of my companion, Pablo, these natives sleep unusually soundly. One morning, while he was with me, he woke up several yards below his bedding, having rolled down a declivity during the night in his sleep. [264] The Papago avoid eating food hot from the fire.

157 They possess much force and stability of character, are quick of perception, loyal to the white man that they like, and if in danger do not cry for help. Under her natural bashfulness the woman hides sterling qualities of efficiency in household work, constancy, and faithful adherence to duty. These Indians are industrious and have a remarkably even temper; thirty children

17;Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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neath. The whole projected above the woman's head and served as stays for loads of wood and other loose objects. The frame was so constructed that the rear portion of it could rest flat against her back, while she supported the two front poles of the frame by a plaited headband made of aloe cord. The carrying net is the only article of basketry dyed in color, the frame being spotted with red clay and the lacework rubbed with red clay and indigo to bring out the pattern.

Men carrying deer meat used a bag of knotted netting without a frame, made of two-strand aloe fiber. After the advent of the horse these were used as saddle bags. Also, two of these bags stuffed with grass formed a primitive saddle.

PLAITING

Since the Papago had little cotton or weaving they supplied the lack of fabrics partly by skins and partly by plaited articles made of sotol *(Dasylirion wheeleri)*. Sotol, too coarse and rough to be used in making clothing, was utilized to make large, tough sleeping mats which could be rolled up and carried about; also in making cradle mats, back mats for the carrying frame, headbands, headrings, and two kinds of baskets.

Sotol leaves are prepared for use by first scraping off the spiny edge with a knife, then splitting the leaves lengthwise in two with the thumbnail (the thumbnail in olden days was kept long to be used as a knife). These withes are triangular in cross-section, and the cushion of pulp on the inner margin is removed, making a flat strip of uniform thickness about an inch wide, with both a rough and a smooth side. The withes are dried in the sun for a few days, then wrapped and stored. When needed they are buried the night before in moistened ground in order to make them flexible.

The sleeping mats made of sotol, and similar to the Mexican *petate*, were about six by three feet with rounded

17.Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

285 corners. Mats of his kind, made of cattail *(Typha latifolia)*
513 with a wicker edge are used by the Hopi.

285 Sotol back mats to be placed between the back and the carrying frame were of the same shape as the above but much smaller, and with a space left near one end for the poles to pass through. Sometimes a mat of similar shape and construction was laid on the cradle board under the pad of aloe fiber.

442 The sotol headband for the carrying net was a ring of plaiting about three inches wide, doubled flat. The head-ring for balancing pots was a cylinder about six inches in diameter folded triple to give strength.

Sotol baskets were of two shapes. The trinket basket had rounding sides with a square base and cover, and might be from eight to twelve inches across. A square, shallow basket of this same weave but with spaces left between the strands was used as a sieve. The second type of basket—the *waca* ceremonial basket—was oblong, shaped like a deep box, the lid being a duplicate of the basket except slightly larger, and was tied on with a thong. Large baskets of this sort were used to hold the sacred objects belonging to a village, and were wrapped in skins for further protection and kept in a cave or a tree. Smaller baskets of this type were used by individuals to hold scalps, eagle down, curing fetishes or shaman's properties, though shamans also used buckskin bags.

COILING

All Papago women made coiled basketry, though the more difficult plaiting and netting were often left to the experts. Twigs, particularly willow *(Salix nigra)*, were considered the best foundation for coiling since they are strong and swell when wet, making the basket water-tight. Willow twigs were secured from the Pima country and had to be peeled on the day they were cut or the bark would adhere. After being peeled the twigs were split in two lengthwise with the aid of a basketry awl, dried in the sun, and then carried home.